

THE COMMUNIST

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

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Toward The Soviets

The struggle for a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is under way in another great nation.

After a year of comparative quiet — a year of preparation — the revolutionary forces in Germany are again in armed conflict with the existing government. The Communist forces have succeeded in setting up a Soviet Government in the Ruhr District and in many isolated cities outside of this territory the Workers' Soviet are in control.

While the course of the revolution does not necessarily follow exactly similar lines in different countries, the parallel between Germany and Russia is so obvious that even the usually blind editorial writers of the capitalist press have not failed to observe it.

Kerensky came into power after the first definitely bourgeois government of Russia has failed to satisfy the workers and peasants. The German Government first made a sham show of liberalization when Prince Max of Baden became prime minister and began negotiations for an armistice with the Allies. This government was quickly succeeded by the coalition of the Majority Socialists and Democratic parties. Kerensky was attacked by the reactionary forces in the Korniloff adventure and was saved by the revolutionary workers of Petrograd. Kapp and his Iron Brigades from the Baltic have played the part of Korniloff and his Cossacks, and again the Ebert Government was saved, not by its own strength, but

through the power of the workers, manifested through the general strike and resistance to reactionary forces by workers with arms in their hands.

Irrespective of whether the Communists succeed in establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Germany as the result of the present conflict, one thing is certain: As in Russia the power to control had passed to the Soviets several months before they were ready to throw out the Kerensky government and openly set up the rule of the workers, so in Germany today the workers have the power in their hands and

they intend to keep it. This is shown in the demands made upon the Ebert Government even by the Independents, who are willing to temporarily compromise with it and leave it in power. These demands are:

1. The immediate disarmament and disbandment of all counter-revolutionary troops.
2. the arrest of their officers and their trial before the workers' courts.
3. the confiscation of all arms in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the giving of these arms to the workers.

4. the methodical distribution of arms to workmen and organized functionaries.

5. The formation of workers' regiments placed under the authority of the Workers' Councils.

6. The convocation of a Congress of Workers' Councils of all the country.

Every one of these demands will strengthen the position of the workers and weaken their opponents.

If the compromise proposed by the Independents is accepted and the Ebert government remains in power, or is succeeded by a moderate labor government headed by Karl Legien, the reactionary trade union leader, neither could last very long. The Kapp adventure has made the workers conscious of their power. No government which seeks to maintain even a modified capitalist system in Germany will be able to satisfy their demands. There will be new conflicts and in the struggle to uphold their interests, the workers will be compelled to take the final step and replace these makeshift governments with their direct representatives chosen through the Soviets.

This course of events so nearly alike in Russia and Germany is not likely that it is the way in which the social revolution develops in a mere coincidence. It is more than every capitalist country. The working class does not become consciously revolutionary at one swift bound. Its material interests com-

(Continued on page 4)

American Bureau of the International

The Pan-American Bureau of the Communist International was organized, provisionally, through action of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America in New York, March 25. Through the Holland Conference of the International, held in Amsterdam during February, which was attended by Louis C. Fraina, International Secretary of the Communist Party, a mandate was received directing the Communist Party of America to take the initiative in organizing the Pan-American Bureau.

Three members of the Communist Party are in charge of the provisional organization. There will be added to the membership of the Bureau a representative of the Latin-American Bureau in Mexico and a representative of the South American parties as soon as connections are established to call a conference at which the permanent bureau will be established.

Thus the Communist International makes its initial move to organize the proletariat of the Western Hemisphere for the struggle against American capitalism and particularly against the imperialism of the United States.

Hail to the Communist International and the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Resolution Adopted by the Holland Conference of the Third International

A REVOLUTIONARY action of the workers to force International Capital to make peace with Russia is a necessary condition to save Soviet-Russia and to hasten the world revolution.

To further this action, the Communists of all lands must utilize every strike-movement, every mass-demonstration.

1. To place this aspect of their responsibilities to the Russian Revolution before the workers.

2. To convince them that their interests are identical with those of Soviet-Russia.

3. To develop a strong feeling of revolutionary solidarity and revolutionary action the world over.

As the pressure of the workers upon the governments is increasing, the tendency is for the capitalist governments to propose a compromise — peace, with the object of reintegrating Soviet-Russia from within. The latest proposal to take up commercial relations through reactionary representatives of pre-revolutionary cooperative societies that have since merged into the Soviet organizations, aims at separating the peasants from the workers, and destroying the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade. Under the cloak of such manoeuvres a great military spring-offensive is being prepared which must be prevented at all costs.

It is therefore essential, that this international bureau takes im-

mediate steps to prepare an international demonstration—strike against intervention in Soviet-Russia. Such a strike not alone to demand ending the blockade and intervention in Soviet-Russia, but to include political and economic demands adapted to the revolutionary requirements of the conditions prevailing in each nation. This demonstration to be supplemented by coercive strikes as the workers gain strength for such further action, in which special attention has to be paid to the expedition and transportation of war-materials and equipment, propaganda being carried on, to withhold labor in such instances.

The appeal to the workers for international strike-action must not be made exclusively through the bureaucracy of the trade-unions, but emphasis must be placed upon the masses in the unions, upon extra-union mass organs, and the creation of such organs if necessary.

When the revolution again arises in Germany or in any other country the forces of the international proletariat (especially the transportation workers in Britain, America, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland) must be prepared for a general strike the moment the capitalist powers attempt intervention. The bureau is to take immediate steps for organizing this action in time to prevent the workers being again forestalled by the governments.

Editorial Page of The Communist

MONUMENTAL HYPOCRISY.

The application of the Socialist Party for admission to the Third International, coming at a time when that organization had just filed a brief at Albany repudiating everything that the Third International stands for, is as extreme an act of hypocrisy as could be imagined.

No organization calling itself "Socialist", with the possible exception of the German Majority Socialist with which the Socialist Party of the United States is now in the same class, has ever gone farther in repudiating even those principles which Moderate Socialists accept, as the Socialist Party has gone in the Albany trial.

Its brief is an argument for respectability. It believes in the use of the ballot only to achieve its aims. What it once said about "united class conscious political and industrial action against the common enemy" is declared to mean a general strike only if the capitalists attempt to steal its victory after it has won at the election. The obligation of its elected officials to the provisions binding its legislative representatives to vote against military appropriations are declared to be meaningless words having no binding force. It makes a case for the patriotism of its members and declares that it never sought to hamper the government in the prosecution of the war, the St. Louis program to the contrary notwithstanding.

The repudiation of the St. Louis program is particularly significant. The claim of the party to international standing and for admission to the Third International has always been based upon its stand during war. The St. Louis program was its great asset for recognition as a "left" party. While using this program to maintain its prestige internationally it repudiates it to gain respectability nationally.

Undoubtedly the attorneys who made the apology and interpretation of the St. Louis program in the Albany brief correctly reflected the opinion of the present leadership and most of the membership of the party. They were never for the St. Louis program. In action they sabotaged it from the beginning. The membership that forced this program down their throats are in the Communist and Communist Labor Party, or in jail because they carried out the program in action.

Hillquit and Lee helped to write the program, but it did not reflect their wishes. They were coerced into acceptance by the knowledge that the militant and overwhelming majority of the St. Louis convention were for a program of aggressive action against the war. Berger carried a program of his own around in his pocket for several days and accepted the one adopted only when it became apparent that he would only be able to muster his corporal's guard from Milwaukee for it. The dynamic part of the St. Louis program was taken from the manifesto of the Socialist Propaganda League, which Trotsky helped to prepare while in this country.

The announcement of the application of the Socialist Party to the Third International came on the day that the Communist Party of America organized the Pan-American Bureau of the Third International, to which the application will no doubt be referred. The chances that the Socialist Party will ever be admitted to the Third International are about as good as the chances that it will ever do anything else but betray the working class of this country in its struggle for emancipation.

WE ARE ILLEGAL ONCE MORE.

There has now been added to the declaration of the Secretary of the Department of Labor and of the courts of the State of New Jersey a similar decision from the courts of the State of New York as to the illegality of the Communist Party of America.

The latter decision was rendered in the verdict in the case of Harry Winitzky, formerly Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Greater New York. Winitzky was charged with being a member and helping to organize the Communist Party. The verdict was therefore a direct expression on the question of the relation of the Communist Party to the laws of the state and will be used as a precedent in other cases.

Except in so far as it involves the freedom of a member of the party and one who was an active worker for our cause, the decision has no particular meaning to the party organization. The fact that we are declared an illegal organization will not change our principles. We will continue to advocate the same ideas after all the courts in the United States have declared us illegal that we advocate before. The decisions of these instruments for oppression to safeguard the capitalist system will not change our program. Since they are instruments of class oppression it would be remarkable if

they rendered any other decision than they have.

The work of the party is to quickly complete the work of adapting itself to the new condition of "illegality" and then to carry on its work of propaganda and education in such an aggressive fashion that it will quickly build up such a powerful organization of the workers than it can laugh at the decision of the capitalist courts as to its legality or illegality. It is not right or justice that determines what is legal or illegal, but power.

When we have the power we will be as quick and unhesitating in declaring the capitalist and capitalism illegal as the capitalists have been in declaring our propaganda against them "illegal".

BOLSHEVISM "FAILING".

Two kinds of propaganda are being carried on by the capitalist press in an effort to save the face of the statesmen who are about to make peace with Soviet Russia.

The first is made up of articles showing how much the Communists of Russia have modified their ideas and indicating that Communism has failed in that country, and a second class of articles showing that conditions in Russia are really not so bad as they have been pictured by the capitalist press.

Unfortunately for the authors of this propaganda these articles quite frequently contradict each other. Thus we have the statement that Communism has failed to contrast to a report of the Moscow election showing that ninety-three per cent of the voters cast their ballots for Communist candidates. And in another instance the failure of Communism is illustrated by the fact that the number of peasants who own land and those who own small parcels of land has greatly increased as have the number who own livestock, while the large holdings of land and livestock have decreased.

The figures and facts presented seem to indicate that in place of Communists having failed in carrying out their program they have been remarkably successful.

Very likely when the capitalists are thoroughly beaten and their system wiped out under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, they will assure us that after all Communism was what they always wanted and the whole struggle was a mistake.

THE REVOLUTION IN 1922.

The New York Times publishes "startling disclosures" made public by the "United Americans", which is a new breed formed to "preserve the Constitution of the United States with the representative form of government and the individual right of possession which the Constitution provides" — in other words an organization of exploiters to pre-

serve exploitation. These "startling disclosures" consist of a lot of weird figures about the strength of the 'Red' movement in the United States and much money supposed to have been received from the Soviet Government of Russia, and assurance that these "Reds" are planning the social revolution in the United States to begin in New York in 1922.

It is with the latter statement that we are concerned. Like the effort of the capitalists to destroy the Communist movement by imprisonments and deportation, it shows an utter inability on their part to estimate what is taking place in society. To them the movement toward the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a scheme devised by some great men, and the date for execution of this plan can be definitely set and the plan executed at the given moment.

Communism is not a scheme which can be put into effect at a date set two years in advance. Such a view of the Communist Movement could only exist in the minds of such abysmally ignorant people as make up the National Committee of "United American" and such as rule the Department of Justice of the United States Government. Communism is an analysis of social forces and a plan of action in the crisis which the conflict of classes will precipitate. For the Communists to say two years from now we will overthrow the present government of the United States and establish a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the proletariat would be silly. What the Communists do say is that the conflict between the working class and capitalist class will grow increasingly bitter and that this conflict, together with the disintegration of the capitalist system which is already reflected in the financial situation and the trade difficulties which this is causing, will precipitate a crisis in which the masses of the workers will take revolutionary action. In this crisis, which might come in six months and may not come for six years, the Communists will take the leadership and direct the struggle to overthrow the present government of the capitalists and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The ignorance of the capitalists and their supporters has its advantages. If they understood that they were dealing with social forces in place of schemes of an individual or a group, they might be shrewd enough to adapt themselves to the development of these forces and thus prolong the lease of life of their class. As it is, they try to wipe out the authors of the scheme they fear and thus actually help to develop the forces that will bring about their undoing.

The Holland Conference of The Communist International

In November, 1919, Comrade Rutgers came from Russia with a mandate from the Executive Committee of the Third International to organize a sub-bureau at Amsterdam. The members of the Bureau were to be designated by the Executive Committee. The principal tasks of this Bureau were to be:

1. The establishment of a Communist Propaganda Center with a bulletin and publication in three languages.

2. The establishment of relations with the various Communist Parties and groups of Western Europe and America.

3. The organization of an International Communist Conference without delay.

The Communist Party of Germany having also announced a plan for an international Communist Conference, organized the Secretariat of Western Europe and invited the Communist Parties to meet in Germany in the latter half of January, the provisional Bureau at Amsterdam decided to participate in this conference and to prepare resolutions, etc., which were to be sent to Berlin.

In the middle of January the American and English representatives reached Holland. No communications having yet been received from Germany, where a state of siege has been declared, the Provisional Bureau at Amsterdam decided to utilize the presence of the English and American comrades and hasten a conference at Amsterdam. The way for this conference has already been paved by the visits of Dutch comrades to England, Switzerland, Belgium and France.

A courier was sent to the German comrades to ask them to come as quickly as possible. The conference opened on February 3, 1920. Only one delegate representing the opposition in the "Communist Party" was present from Germany at the opening. The other German delegates arrived eight days later. In addition to the delegates of the various Communist groups of England, America and Holland, the conference was attended by two delegates from a Belgian Communist group, by a comrade who had participated in the Hungarian Revolution, by a representative of the revolutionary movement in the Dutch West Indies and by a Chinese comrade. The latter had no credentials. The Swiss delegates could not participate in the regular discussion because they arrived toward the end of the conference.

The first session took place on February the 3rd. After an opening address by Comrade Rutgers, the Bureau of the Congress was named and the order of business was set. The Conference reopened on February 4th. The first point of discussion was an appeal to the workers to support Soviet Russia. The discussion, which was very lively, lasted two days. Two main tendencies r

one striving to set afoot a real mass movement in favor of Russia, even if it should net success only to the extent of introducing revolutionary leaven into every great economic strike, — this with the object of convincing masses of every country that their own fate rests indissolubly with the fate of Soviet Russia; the other sought to have the conference order a great International strike without delay. Those who desired the latter had no illusions at all as to the probable success of such an appeal, but they held that it was the primary task of the Communists to educate the masses in the import of unity through international action. After a thorough discussion, in which were pointed out the dangers which might confront Soviet Russia through the lifting of a blockade not brought about by the pressure of the masses, but in accordance with the plans of the capitalist governments. A committee was elected to draw up a resolution combining both tendencies. This resolution was accepted unanimously.

Then the Conference discussed two other questions: The creation of a Communist Bureau for Western Europe and the Americas, and the unification of the different Communist groups existing in several countries. The absence of the comrades of "The Secretariat of Western Europe" established in Germany rendered the situation regarding the first of these questions very delicate. It ended, however, in a decision that a Bureau should be established at Amsterdam for propaganda, the strengthening of bonds between the Communist groups of Europe and America, and securing contact of the Bureau with the latter's work and organization. It is hoped to avoid conflict between the two organizations of the Third International by reserving for the Secretariat, established in Germany, relations with the different countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. The motion to establish a bureau was also carried unanimously.

There was not as much unanimity in the discussion of the cases of unity of the Communist groups of each country. The resolution proposed included a strict obligation for the severing of all relations with parties affiliated directly or indirectly with the Social Patriotic International. This brought forward serious objections from the delegates of one of the English Parties (The British Socialist Party). They expressed their apprehension of such a measure which would completely isolate the English Communist Party and prevent it from becoming a live force in the political struggle of the country. This would result from making it impossible for a Communist Party to affiliate with the mass of the "British Labor Party". The delegates of the other English organizations entertained no such fears. They declared that Communist unity in their country could be obtained only by the com-

plete rupture with the "Labor Party."

After the vote on the question of unity, the Conference proceeded to a discussion of theses on Unionism brilliantly presented and defended by the American comrade Louis C. Fraina. Comrade Bowman, one of the leading figures of the Independent Unions of Holland, was present at this session and participated in the discussion. "Handelsblad", the big capitalist daily of Amsterdam, later exploited this fact in its "revelations concerning the secret Communist Conference." It claimed that the General Strike of the Amsterdam transport workers had been manufactured and that other strikes had been planned by "Russian Gold". Alas! these silly accusations were received by "Het Volk", the organ of the Social Democratic Party, in order to detach the independent unions taking part in the strike.

After working painfully for four days, the Conference was compelled to leave the place where these sessions were held and to seek refuge at the home of a comrade. Several delegates noticed that they were being followed regularly by detectives. The position of those who did not have regular passports necessitated this change by means of which it was hoped the police would lose track of them. On Sunday, February 8th, a Swiss comrade arrived. He brought the news that several German delegates expected to reach Holland in a few days. It was decided to adjourn the session and reunite on the 11th. Unfortunately, the change did not succeed in getting the police off the tracks. Several comrades were arrested and searched. Others escaped worse fate by leaving the country secretly. A Belgian delegate was held twenty-four hours and then deported. The lack of experience of our party in reference to illegal action and other circumstances prevented taking certain necessary precautions, which would perhaps have rendered possible a normal ending of the Conference.

Under the above circumstances it was impossible to resume the session. Several German delegates were traced and caught by the Noske regime. The American and Swiss delegates were hounded by their "democratic" governments. For the latter to try valor would mean spending long years in Holland's prisons. None dared to expose himself to this danger constantly confronting him in Amsterdam. The members of the Executive Committee of the Bureau as well as the English and American delegates succeeded in having several conferences with the delegates who arrived from Germany. Among the latter were two delegates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, a delegate of the Secretariat for Western Europe, and of the Russian Communist Party, and a delegate of the International

Youth. The discussion was confined to the choosing of the Amsterdam Bureau. The comrades in question could not accept the choice in its actual form. There was a long discussion, but they were unable to reach an agreement. They finally adjourned with the following decisions:

1. The Secretariat and Bureau are to continue their propaganda work separately for the next three months. All efforts should be made to avoid conflict between them.

2. In the three months there will be held another International Communist Conference which will dispose, it is to be hoped, of the authority necessary for organizing a Bureau along more clearly defined lines.

Because of the limited composition of the Amsterdam Conference and its premature closing entailed by police activities which prevented the German comrades from participating in it, the theses and resolutions accepted can only be provisional for the Communist International. These theses and resolutions have, however, a relative value in indicating the trend of the development of Communist thought, mainly in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Furthermore, they can and should serve as material for a future international congress.

In spite of all these limitations we cannot hold the results of the Conference useless. On the contrary, we are convinced that they will promote the international mass movement for Soviet Russia as well as strengthen the bonds among the groups of the advance guard and hasten their unification on the general basic principles and tactics laid down by the Conference. And we look upon these as most valuable results.

The Executive Committee.

N. B. Delegates from Spain, Mexico, Finland and Scotland arrived after the Conference. With the latter the members of the Executive Committee had only private discussions. As a result permanent relations were established. The discussions in regard to Spain and Mexico facilitated connections with America and Far East through a Bureau in America.

THE LAW

Judge Weeks, charging the hand-picked jury in the Winitsky case: We are living in this country under a system of jurisprudence the most enlightened, most just and most fair of any country in the world. Sure! Don't we see it in operation? What's the need of tellin' us?

He also said: The law protects the weak against the strong.

Don't we know that too? Doesn't it always protect the bourgeoisie against the working-class?

Pass this on to a worker—a trusted one.

All communications for Party or Defense go through the established channels.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

Build the unit in the shop!

Some Jobs At The Passing Show of Capitalism

DISTANCE LENDS ENCHANTMENT

It is rumored in reliable quarters that the NATION is going out of business, before long. It is said that Villard, the owner, declared to friends that he "cannot afford the losses" the printing and circulation entails. He was quoted as saying that he wishes to "save enough to leave the family a decent inheritance."

It is a no un-natural bourgeoisie desire. Only those workers will be disappointed who expect anything more from "liberalism."

In the glow of enthusiasm for a revolution thousands of miles away, no doubt Mr. Henry Villard, who is the NATION, did valiant service toward creating a better understanding of Soviet Russia. It cannot be denied that he has done a good job, so far as he has gone. The trouble is, we think, that he doesn't want to go any further. This, again, is perfectly natural, for Villard is not a proletarian. He is, on the contrary, a man of wealth, belonging to the upper bourgeoisie. A revolution in Russia appealed to him as an ideal, stirred his imagination. He took fire at the idea of Russia as a great laboratory. A new system could there be evolved, from which other countries could benefit. The Marxian theory of Socialism, developed by Lenin into practice, could then safely and slowly be incorporated into the life of other people—of the American people. But changes come, not as bourgeoisie liberal gentlemen desire, nor even as the revolutionary proletariat desire, but as the collapsing capitalist system impels.

With the rapidly disintegrating system here, discontent deepens, becomes more wide-spread; capital seeing its end in sight, grows more desperate; there is greater repression. Underneath, the fires of revolt smoulder. The class conflict rolls up toward crisis. A "liberal" like Villard finds all the signs of impending revolution here in his own country—not in Russia, not in Germany, not in Hungary, whose changes a gentleman can think of, and even support, with pleasure—but here in America! at home!—where one gets chills and fever thinking of one's bank account—of stocks and bonds, real estate, business generally!

Here before his very eyes are the two classes—the only two classes that matter in this conflict—lining up for battle; already the skirmishes are developed into good sized, important engagements. And where does a liberal gentleman (with liberal sympathies for revolutions where he is not!) find himself? Why, in the only position possible for him: In the political, economic No-Man's-Land, with shot and shell from both fronts bursting all around him!

A revolution in Russia? Glorious! But a revolution in America? Well, you see, he lives in America!

Paul N. Millyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats, the party of the bourgeoisie, declared some months before the great Russian revolt, "If victory can be secured only by means of a revolution, then we don't want any victory."

We can picture this declaration on the cover of the last issue of the NATION, Mr. Villard using the editorial "we." It might be the most fitting word of farewell to its "faithful readers."

JOHN'S QUALIFICATIONS

"From the time of the Bolshevik coup d'état in Russia, and the development here of a propaganda in favor of similar methods, I have given some part of every day to the fight against it. I hate and abhor Bolshevism and all its works, because I am a Socialist."—John Spargo, in the Call.

After this declaration of principles and tactics, there should be nothing in the way of John's rejoining the Socialist Party.

COMPLETING THE JOB

Our own American White Guards, the American Legion, have received a gift of a half million dollars from the pious Y. M. C. A. It is claimed that this gift represents the earnings of the Canteens during the war. This reminds us of stories of this Christian organization's profiteering "over there," brought back by thousands upon thousands of uniformed workers. There were burning tales of outrageous prices charged for everything—candy, tobacco, cigarettes, newspapers, something-to-drink, something-to-eat,—in short, anything they had that the soldier boy wanted. Especially the profit-making in cigarettes rankled. We have no doubt that some of our saviors of "democracy" returned more "bolshhevik" than "democratic" because of the "undemocratic" proceeds that accrued to the godly canteens from the sale of cigarettes. Now it seems like pouring salt upon an open wound to use this money for the up-building of the White Guard! A half-million dollars profit wrung from the "boys" who enjoyed their "coffin-nails"—now to be used in attempt to nail down in the coffin of reaction, the hopes and the aspirations of the workers!

The workers who answered the call to war for "democracy," never dreamed how far the fight would be carried. They themselves may have stopped fighting and smoking canteen cigarettes long ago; but the canteen profits go marching on, to complete the job here so patriotically begun "over there!"

We remember, too, with what tears and protestations the Y. M. C. A. denied that they had ever sold anything for more than cost. The announcement, therefore that this \$500,000 represents the "earnings of the Y. M. C. A. canteens during the war," is equivalent to admitting that they lied. But that is not surprising—we told them so!

What will the White Guards do with the money?

"The Executive Committee has decided that the amount be held as a trust fund for a period of five years, the principal sum to be invested and reinvested."

Before the war, men had the habit of saying "for a period of fifty years"—even a hundred. Like ninety-nine year franchises, they were long-term affairs. Often the term was indefinitely long—as the life, they thought, of the capitalist system.

Now they show proper modesty. Events may yet prove them not modest enough. Their tottering system may collapse much sooner than is apparent. Nevertheless, such modesty, considering their historic blindness, is commendable. If they stand to lose before the five years are quite over, Dr. John R. Mott, general secretary of the Y. M. C. A., who was reported at one time to have dabbled a little in Socialism, may have the satisfaction of knowing that the fund found its way back to the class to which the "boys" who were gouged of the sum, belong—the working-class of America.

TOWARD THE SOVIETS

(Continued from page 1)

pel it to adopt a certain course of action, force it along a certain road, but it is apt to make many compromises along the road before it learns that there is but one way in which it can break the chains of capitalism—the organization of its own power, the disestablishment of capitalists and the transformation of the capitalist system.

This lesson workers are bound to learn through experience. They learned it in Russia. They are

SOCIALISTS SEEK PLATFORM HINTS

—N. Y. Call Headline.

In view of the declaration of party position by the spokesman of the S. P. during the trial of the five self-declared, but unappreciated, patriots at Albany, we trust that a suggestion or two from a one-time party member will not be taken unkindly.

We mean to be helpful and trust our efforts in this direction will be appreciated by the noble S. E. C. of the Socialist Party—at least by the spokesman aforementioned, to-wit: Morris Hillquit and Seymour Stedman.

Plank 1. The Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to any and all wars 4,000 miles away, even 3,000. A war so far away as that, is none of "our" business. The farther away it is, the less business of "ours" it is. Conversely, a war on our very border is decidedly "our" business. The Socialist Party therefore is not opposed to a war with Mexico or Canada.

Plank 2. The S. P. favors the organization of a Pink Army to fight the Russian Red Army, when the Bolsheviks come over to "our" shores to destroy "our" Galorific government and institutions.

Plank 3. We stand for absolute lawran-order.

Plank 4. We believe in EVolution, and repudiate REVolution, and pledge ourselves to slap it on the wrists whenever it should raise its red head.

Plank 5. The Socialist Party swears by the "public" and damns the proletariat.

Plank 6. We oppose the idea of the Proletarian Dictatorship with the greater idea of the Golden Rule. Rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, should love one another and live in peace and harmony. Once the Socialists are captured by the Bourgeois State, we pledged ourselves to work to this end.

Plank 7. We pledge ourselves to uphold the Law and the Constitution as laid down by OUR fathers. Now that we have purged our party of the alien element, we can truly and proudly say "OUR."

Plank 8. We stand for America for the American and the S. P. for America.

Plank 9. We are unalterably opposed to the Communists of America. We know what's coming to us when they get strong enough. We believe in the Bourgeois State; they believe in the Proletarian Dictatorship. There can be nothing in common between us respectable, law-abiding citizens, and the lawless, ignorant masses. They believe in mass-action; we believe in ass-action. The difference is clear to every patriotic American.

It is rumored that the German Kaiser has a little ditty with which he regales himself when chopping wood. It goes like this: "How much kol could a Kolchuk chuk, if a Kolchuk could chuk kol?"

learning it in Germany. They will learn it in the other countries of Europe and even in the United States. The tasks of the Communists is to constantly emphasize this goal and in the final struggle to assume the direction and leadership of the working masses.

If the capitalist masters of the world expected that with the peace negotiations with Russia under way and the German revolution evidently dead, they were assured a new lease of life, they have had a rude awakening by the events in Germany. They will have more rude awakening in

'IS ROYAL 'IGHNESS AND THE S. P.

Arthur Gleason, writing in the Pittsburg Dispatch, says, "Britain will probably have a labor government long before it touches the king. Indeed, it is quite possible we shall see in Britain a Socialist monarchy."

He is quite right. King George may some day forget the slight he suffered at the hands of John Burns, who refused to attend his garden party, and attend with pleasure a Socialist Party meeting. Should Comrade King George, and the local London Branch of the S. P. like each other well, 'is Royal 'ighness may forget another historic slight—when Kier Hardie refused to wear a top hat in the House of Commons—and wear his crown at the next Branch meeting. We are sure that every little peanut politician in the S. P. would be flattered and pleased. As for the big politicians—!!! (No word for it). No, there is nothing incompatible in the idea. Since the S. P. can use the King's parliament for its purposes, why can't the King use the local branch meeting for his?

American industrial kings, please take notice.

THE FINANCE CORDIALE

The real Allied Council is meeting in Japan, as may be seen from the following despatch:

TOKIO, Japan, March 26.—A generally hearty accord in views has been shown by the eighteen bankers representing the leading financial houses of Japan in the discussions of the past two weeks with Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., who is here representing the American group in the proposed consortium. In addition to the proposed loan to China, other general financial matters relative to the Orient, especially China, were discussed. The Lamont party has been cordially entertained with a constant whirl of receptions and banquets. The social feature, however, has not interfered with serious work on the big undertaking, which will possibly mean much in the future relations of Japan, France, Britain and the United States, as well as China.

It is reported that Allied Imperialism, with its hands tied, is still suffering from the Yuden-itch, and inquiring politely if Denikin scratch. Lloyd-George says he kin. But only when the Big Fear becomes the Big Four again, which may never be.

Sergt.-Major Weber, leader of the Spartacist forces in the Ruhr district, was once an errand boy for Ludendorff, and is now putting into effect strategy he learned at German headquarters when he was a non-commissioned officer attached to the General's staff.

the days to come. The victory of the Soviets in Russia, the coming victory in Germany is only the beginning of the struggle which will continue until the workers everywhere triumph. There may be periods of quiescence in this struggle, such as the last year in Germany, but the struggle will go on until the bourgeois power in the world is broken completely and the proletarian rule is established.

Germany is the second episode in the world social revolution.

HAIL THE COMING SOVIET REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

The President of the Russian Soviet Republic

MICHAEL IVANOVITCH KALININ, who died recently, was unanimously elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the soviets in place of the late Comrade Sverdloff at the meeting of the executive committee on March 30, 1919.

M. I. Kalinin was born on November 7, 1875, in the village of Verkhney Troitzky, Tver government, Kortchevsk, Yaroslavl district, of a peasant family. He lived with his parents till the age of thirteen and from his early childhood helped his father in the work on the farm. From childhood he had a great yearning for knowledge. He taught himself to read and devoted all his leisure time to reading.

When he turned thirteen one of the neighboring landlords, Mordukhai Bolkhovskiy, sent him to the zemstvo elementary school at his own expense, for his father being comparatively poor, could not afford to pay for his son's education. At school he was regarded as one of the best pupils. On finishing his schooling he went to work on Mordukhai's estate, but the life there did not satisfy the inclinations of the young man and his mistress placed him at the Cartridge works in Petrograd as an apprentice. He remained at the works for 2 years and then, when he reached the age of 16, he went to work as a turner at the Putilov works.

In 1898 Kalinin joined the social democratic party and from that time his trials began.

In 1899 he was arrested and exiled to the Caucasus where he worked in the railway workshops. Here he was twice arrested.

It is interesting to note that when Com. Kalinin was exiled to the Caucasus he was permitted to pass through his village and when he appeared there everybody was surprised to see him alive, for a rumor had spread in the village that he was placed into the Petropavlovsky fortress as a dangerous political worker, and there literally ground to pieces in a mill.

As the work of Com. Kalinin seemed too dangerous to the authorities in the Caucasus, they had him transferred to Reval, but still as an exile, and here he continued his fruitful work amongst the Estonian workers.

In 1908 the authorities in Reval again arrested Comrade Kalinin and decided to exile him to Eastern Siberia. While on the road the Japanese war broke out; as a consequence he was brought back and sent to the government of Olonezsk, where he came back under an amnesty and was released.

From 1906 to 1908 Comrade Kalinin worked at the Central Union of Metalists and was a distinguished worker of the Petrograd bolshevik organization.

Later on, after the death of his father, Comrade Kalinin temporarily ceased his political work and retired to the village where for two years he managed his farm.

In 1912 Comrade Kalinin went to work at the Central Tramway Electric station, but shortly after was again arrested and exiled from Moscow and was deprived of the right to reside in industrial centers.

He returned to the village and again took up his farming, but the satraps gave him no rest and he was arrested again.

In 1915 we find him working at the "Ivaz" works. On January 7, 1916, he was again arrested and put into prison where he was kept for a year and then sentenced to be exiled to Siberia. That, however, could not be carried out, for Comrade Kalinin lived in Petrograd illegally and by that time the February revolution took place and he was set free.

He has a wife and three children and a 60 year old mother who lives in the village where she manages the farm. Comrade Kalinin from time to time visited the village and took an active part in the construction of rural life. Soon after his election M. I. Kalinin in an interview with a correspondent of the "Pravda" an organ

of the Central Committee of the Russian communist party—made a few brief remarks referring to the immediate aims of the soviet government.

"In the first place," said Comrade Kalinin, "it is necessary to induce the middle-class peasantry to take part in the revolutionary struggle with the same intensity as the proletariat does. It is essential that soviet government should become near and dear to the village. As chairman of the Central Executive Committee, I consider bringing the soviet government into closer contact with the village my principal and fundamental task.

"It is necessary for us to offer resistance to the robbers pressing us from all sides. Can we offer resistance? Of course we can if we are strong, then the unity between the proletariat and the peasantry will render it firm and lasting.

"I consider my election as chairman of the Central Executive Committee symbolic. I am at the same time a workman and a peasant. I personify the union between town and village. Even now I am managing a farm as much as my duties will permit me, and I will continue to do so. I stand between the poor and the middle-class peasant, my farm is not large, but in good order. I know rural life as well and the psychology of the peasant is quite familiar to me. I know that every peasant must love the soviet government. Because I am a peasant I take a part in the revolutionary movement and serve the soviet government. From the standpoint of his economic interests, the middle-class peasant must support the soviet government. Misunderstandings may arise between the soviet government and the middle-class peasantry, but hostility never. We must protect the middle-class peasant from every kind of oppression, misunderstandings, red-tapeism and bureaucratism; to assist the economic development of the village and in no case to destroy, but to

encourage small industry, handicraft, etc., among the peasants.

"I would like to say a few words about the Petrograd proletariat. Nobody has suffered so much for the revolution, nobody has invested in the cause so much energy and patience, as the Petrograd workmen. And, undoubtedly, they have the right to demand our particular attention. The Petrograd workmen were starving. Only a short time ago Petrograd suffered from hunger more than Moscow. At present, the food question in Petrograd, if not better, is at least not worse than in Moscow. It is necessary to improve the food conditions of Petrograd for the reason, I repeat, that the Petrograd workmen fully deserve all the attention we can devote to them. Petrograd workmen will yet again give evidence

On April 26, last year, Comrade Kalinin began his "All-Russian tour." A special train was constructed in Moscow which is called "The October revolution," the route comprises: Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Lysky, Novokhopersk, Balashov, Penza, Riazan, Jitemir, Kieff, Elisavetgrad, Odessa, Khereson and the Crimean peninsula. Apart from the principal aim of this tour, that is to come into closer contact with the village, to draw nearer to the province, to know what it requires, it has an educational purpose as well. There is a book store in the train, moving cinema, theatre, museum and exhibition, etc., wherever Comrade Kalinin comes he speaks with the peasants and workmen, takes interest in their business, listens to all their complaints, etc.

His speeches are the simple speeches of the peasants. Here is an extract from his speech which he delivered at a crowded meeting held by red army soldiers and peasants in the government of Simbirske:

"The red army is performing a noble task and it faces great difficulties. Our enemies possess science, technique and foreign gold, and still we beat them. We beat them because our army is conscious that in

the event of our defeat the landlords and the bourgeoisie will suck our blood and the blood of those who come after us. I urge you all not to be discouraged and to devote all your free time to studies in order to acquire knowledge and impart your knowledge to your family and to your fellow-villagers, which will enable you to take an active part in the administrative work and to dismiss all bureaucrats among whom there are many of our disguised enemies.

"The aim of the soviet government is to abolish bureaucracy, to place the administrative work into the hands of workmen and peasants: today to plough your field or work at the bench and tomorrow to manage a district, government or state, and on the next day to return to your plough or bench.

"Comrades, we are passing through a hard time, but at the same time a heroic time. Those who have lived quietly during this time will not be remembered by posterity. People will forever remember our time, our deeds. Centuries will roll on and our children's children will narrate our heroic struggle, how we could sacrifice our lives on the altar of freedom, for the welfare of the people. In their songs they will sing about us, glorifying our struggle. Individuals—Kalinin, Petroff, Ivanoff will be forgotten, but they will remember us all with awe and pride."

Actors, travelling in this train, gave theatrical performances, cinema pictures were shown, books were distributed. A newspaper, edited in the train, which contains the latest telegrams of the Russian telegraph agency. This paper gives different information to the peasants and carries on propaganda.

The workmen and peasants met the president of the Russian republic with great enthusiasm. Many enthusiastic letters and telegrams connected with the arrival of Comrade Kalinin, "The All-Russian Elder" as he is called by the peasants, were sent from the provinces to the centre.

THE WINITSKY TRIAL

THE first trial in the State of New York for the crime of belonging to the Communist Party began before Judge Bartow S. Weeks on March 15. This is the Supreme Court judge who recently gave Benjamin Gitlow a maximum sentence under the Criminal Anarchy Law for the crime of publishing "The Left Wing Manifesto."

Harry M. Winitsky, the defendant, was executive secretary of Local New York of the Communist Party. Like Walter Gabriel, formerly secretary of the New Jersey State organization, and now an inmate of the State Prison at Trenton, Winitsky had nothing whatever to do with the formulation of the Communist Party program or constitution.

The case of the prosecution is that the Communist Party is in its nature a criminal organization and that anyone who has anything to do with it is thereby a criminal. From this viewpoint, apparently accepted by the trial judge, every document which purports to be a party publication, is admitted in evidence, regardless of any connection with the defendant. Even the proceedings of the Chicago Convention have been admitted, although Winitsky was a thousand miles away from that convention and although these proceedings were never considered of sufficient general interest to publish so that he could read them.

An interesting angle of this trial is the calling by the prosecution of five or six Communists as witnesses, presumably on the theory that the usual method of authenticating the party documents by use of detectives might not prove sufficient. However, under the broad rulings of Justice Weeks, and by his own persistent activity in behalf of the prosecution, all these documents were accepted in evidence before any of the Communist witnesses were

reached. Only Jay Lovestone was finally called to the stand, and after his claim of constitutional right not to incriminate himself, was met by satisfactory assurance of complete immunity both in New York and in the Chicago case, Lovestone was grilled for several hours by the prosecution. Then he was questioned by the attorney for the defense on the meaning of the party declarations of principles.

At one point in the trial, when the Department of Justice stenographer, who attended the Chicago Convention, was on the stand, Judge Weeks took occasion to suggest in an elaborate speech, that the record of the convention would probably reveal that there were meanings in the Manifesto and Program which were concealed in the actual published forms. Upon cross-examination of this witness all this insinuation was swept aside by the positive answers that there was not a single word at any time during the convention about concealing any meanings.

As in the Gitlow trial witnesses were brought from Winnipeg to tell at great length about the Winnipeg general strike, since the Manifesto made an allusion to the general strike as a working class tactic of great political significance. One of these witnesses was the delegate of the policeman's union on the General Strike Committee. He had turned traitor because he believed in collective bargaining only by the workers organized in a single shop. In spite of the animus of these witnesses it did not appear that the strikers were responsible for the least violence in the Winnipeg strike, the few disturbances being provoked by the scab police. Even these disturbances, however, did not amount to much.

Attorney for the defense was frequently

compelled to raise objection to the judge's apparent bias. Between the judge and Rorke—the prosecutor—a witness' neck got plenty of exercise. "Questions to right of him, questions to left of him, volleyed and thundered!" quoted Fallon to the judge, as he objected for the twentieth time—indignantly, if with studied "respectfulness." This time Lovestone was the victim. Between the judge's bench and the prosecutor's table, his head seemed to be in perpetual motion.

After Fallon's and Rorke's plea to the Jury, the judge took great pains to "disabuse the minds of twelve honest men" of any notion that might have lodged there that he was in any way biased or prejudiced against the defendant. The judge in charging the jury, placed an interesting construction on the "law." The only legal means provided for overthrow of the government," he said, "is the ballot. Ergo, the advocacy of any means other than the ballot is illegal. The clause in the Criminal Anarchy Law refers to "force and violence, or any illegal means." Under Judge Weeks' ruling then, any member of an organization advocating overthrow of government by a general political strike, or by prayer and fasting, or mental suggestion, or any method not the ballot, is criminal under the law.

An interesting disclosure in this case was the fact that between the time of the Gitlow and Winitsky cases, a matter of a few weeks, an amendment to the Criminal Anarchy Law was hustled through the legislature which provided against the use of the only legal excuse a witness had for refusing to testify—self-incrimination. Rose Pastor Stokes, in the case of Gitlow, refused on this legal ground to answer certain questions asked by the prosecutor and pressed by the judge, and the court had to concede her right to refuse. This was

The Universal Crisis



By
Dr. A. PANNEKOEK

THE capitalist system is in its death throes; its end has commenced.

The world wide war destroyed the productive powers of Europe, drained the life blood of the people, and burdened the states with gigantic war debts. Many people, when the war was finished, believed that the victorious countries, at least, could expect a period of expansion and recovery during which capitalism would be rebuilt. But today it is clear that it will be impossible to rebuild it. In the conquered countries, stripped bare by the victors, economic stagnation and social ruin becomes increasingly intensified. From them the paralysis develops westward—to France, to England, to the neutrals, to America. Intercommunication has become disorganized; the lack of raw materials makes the reconstruction of industry impossible; and, because of the lack of man-power and of manures, the harvests are not sufficient to meet the needs of the people. Still more grave is the chaos in the currency. Under capitalism in normal times money is the oil of the social machine, the instrument of every economic transaction. Today the uncertainty of the exchanges paralyses the nerves of capitalist production—the credit system. The ever-mounting price of commodities is only one of the symptoms of the economic dislocation. The middle classes are reduced to the position of proletarians by the high prices, while the masses themselves are forced down into still deeper misery. If the purchasing power of money decreases,

the workers are compelled by means of strikes to defend their standard of living, and, because of that, the conflicts between capital and labor grow ever more acute and more wide spread.

What does that mean? The American banker Warburg says: "Europe is bankrupt." In other words, Capitalism is collapsing.

It is only possible to understand the deeper causes of this by the teaching of Marx concerning the essential character of Capitalism. All the solutions advanced: State control of prices; increase of production by means of more intense and longer labor on the part of the workers; the restoration of free exchange; each and every device put forward in order to save the present order of things, appears as so much pitiful nonsense in the light of Marxist theory concerning the mechanism of capitalist production and circulation. That production is not for use, but for profit. Every business enterprise is, today, paralysed at its commencement by the difficulty of selling its products, even when it succeeds in breaking down the barriers caused by burnings, by strikes, and by the difficulties of communication. Because Germany cannot buy, England cannot sell, and so the crisis spreads throughout the whole "civilized" world. In America huge quantities of goods are to be found, but Europe cannot buy because of the increased value, in European money, of the dollar, and also because of the high cost of trans-

port. We hear again and again of huge credits proposed to be made by American banks to Europe. But it is certain that no bank on combination of banks will offer its millions, even if that is the only way to save Capitalism. For Capitalism is a blind force which drives along its own masters like so many blind slaves, thirsting for gold. In no direction can we see any reason to expect the reconstruction of the capitalist system. Whole populations have become pauperized and need help! The world becomes plunged more and more into chaos and misery.

In face of this collapse of human society the mass of men stand deaf and blind. The bourgeoisie tries to make itself, and others, believe that the revolutionists are preparing a forcible destruction of capitalist society in order to replace it by a socialist one. It does not realize that Capitalism is destroying itself, that Socialism is the only possibility, and the only foundation of reconstruction, which the human race must accept unless it wishes to perish together with Capitalism. The bourgeoisie persecutes the revolutionists and hinders their propaganda in the senseless hope thereby to save Capitalism, while, indeed, by those means it only prolongs human misery, and delays the coming of the new world order. That deafness and blindness concerning the coming dissolution of Capitalism is the historic fatality of the bourgeoisie.

But the mass of workers are also blind

and deaf to this dissolution. They regard the march of events without understanding, and without knowledge. To hope that the collapse of Capitalism will find a proletarian revolutionary prepared and conscious of its mission is now shown to be utopian. The collapse proceeds too rapidly, events spring too suddenly before the eyes of men for them to be able to adapt their minds to the new realities. That, however, does not mean that they will do nothing, and quietly submit to perish together with the world capitalism; it means that the transformation in Western Europe and in America will not proceed along the same simple and easy way as in Russia. Infinitely greater difficulties must be conquered in those countries where a deeply-rooted bourgeois civilization has impressed itself almost ineradicably upon the mind of the workers. The road to Socialism will be by tortuous ways, across many barriers, under the debris of old ideals, through new deceiving, vain experiments, and great events. A year of gigantic universal struggle lies before us.

(Dr. Pannekoek is one of the best known theoretical Communists in Holland. He is also a scientist of repute in Europe, and an honorary member of Petrograd University. The above article was translated from the *Internacia Socia Revuo*, an International Socialist Esperanto monthly, edited in Holland by Comrade W. Nutters, of the Dutch Communist Party.)

Why These Strikes

CLEARING THE GROUND.

WHAT ails the working-class in America? Why the many strikes? Why this tremendous unrest?

Some would blame it on that magician of the "High Cost of Living"—the profiteer. Others blame it on the war. The latter would have us believe that the present proletarian dissatisfaction and restlessness are temporary. They will pass as soon as the "war effects" are forgotten and the world "settles down". Of course the "bloodthirsty" agitator comes in for indictment. What is the answer?

A large employer of labor has recently said: "In former years we have always been able rather easily to arrive at adjustments... But today there is something different; there is something stirring, something which I cannot comprehend, and I am not sure that the men themselves comprehend it. He goes on to call it "subconscious restlessness".

The Communist, unlike the bourgeois or his liberal apologist is not dozed by this condition. Astonishment would overcome him if conditions were otherwise. There is nothing puzzling in this "subconscious restlessness". The strikes,

promptly remedied by the amendment rushed through a couple of weeks ago.

It took the jury only an hour and ten minutes to find Winisky guilty of desiring not to "capture" the bourgeois state, but "to conquer and destroy it," which, as Judge Weeks said, and all Communists will agree, "means nothing else than the overthrowing of the existing government."

unrest, dissatisfaction, decrease in efficiency, and general uncertainty are only the symptoms of a chronic malady. They are only signs of the times. The present lack of social equilibrium cannot at all be understood if it be viewed thru bourgeois spectacles. The downing of tools and decrease in production are not the cause of the deep unrest. On the contrary, the unrest is the cause of the strike wave and decrease of efficiency.

WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T SO.

Before delving into the why and wherefore of the present situation a few simple truths must be repeated. These are obvious to all but those who delight in throwing sand into their own eyes.

The present dissatisfaction is not so much with labor as a means of livelihood. The worker does not complain simply because he is a worker. He complains of the raw deal he receives in the workshop. For some reason or other he feels that not all is on the level in the factory and outside. The laborer cannot yet put his finger on the sore spot. He is vague. He sorely needs clarification. He cries for direction.

This "epidemic" is not local. It grips both victor and vanquished. Democratic Japan and America, "Socialist" Germany and democratized Hungary, victorious Italy and ruined Austria all face the same problem, tho its manifestation may be different. This "epidemic" knows no pole. The "background" Orient is aflame. Unrest has gripped the colonies of that arch-liberator and

superresuscitator of "small nationalities"—England. Only the particular material conditions prevailing in Egypt and India have given the struggle of the masses there a national color. Apparently the why and the wherefore of this ferment are deeprooted and universal.

WAGES AND HOURS.

Are the masses disturbed by small wages? Not on your life! Any employer will confess that disturbance in production is not brought about by disagreement over wages. Grant the worker a raise to-day and he'll be back in a few weeks of hours the *ocvforemostpmoreom* and ask for another. Is the question of hours the bone of condition? Not by a long shot. Quite often the demand for shorter hours is rather a demand for more money than for more rest. Push a camel thru a needle's eye? Well, stop this recurring demand (at an accelerated pace too) for more pay and less work. This process truly violates the Law of God, nature, and the Holy Ghost—that everything has an end. There is no end to the cry for more pay and less work.

THE SORE SPOT

But where is the sore spot? The whole thing is the sore spot. The entire system is cankerous to the core. Capitalism finds itself to-day in the throes of social bankruptcy. Bankruptcy in every sense of the word stares capitalism in the face. Moral and political as well as financial bankruptcy are in our midst. "This bankruptcy finds expression in a revolutionary ferment which is

apparent everywhere, in the armies, in the working class and lastly, in circumstances, for there are already "foreign bodies" in the capitalist system: a fundamentally antagonistic structure, the Republic of the Soviets of Russia".

It is this condition of bankruptcy which gives rise to the wave of strikes, dissatisfaction, *uneasiness* and decreased inefficiency.

IN DELIRIUM.

The champions of bourgeoisdom are delirious. What shall be done? Panacea is hurled upon panacea. Calumny, deceit, hypocrisy, treachery, murder all are of no avail! A rose by any other name is just as sweet. A League of Loot labelled "League of Nations" is just the safety valve. But there is a hitch! Conferences to save international exchange, conferences for industrial peace, thousands of arrests and deportations, peaceful annihilation of Communist Russia are some of the most recent trump cards played by such master gamblers of Imperialism as Wilson and Lloyd George.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

The World Imperialists are preparing consolidation. Anything to retain mastery in this epoch of tempest and revolt. A bourgeois victory centuries to come. Capitalism is at present in an awful hole. If it can get out of this hole it will ride in on a most vicious military dictatorship. Historically the capitalist system has outlived its function. Its continuation means an era of barbarism.

The war has destroyed many
(Continued on page 8)

The Party in Action

Negotiations Regarding Unity with the C. L. P.

Three months have passed since the government struck the blow which was intended to disrupt the Communist Party. In those three months the machinery of the party organization has been reconstructed on a new basis. While the work is not complete in every part of the country, it has gone forward far enough to enable the party to again undertake the work of propaganda which was temporarily interrupted.

The first work along this line was the distribution of Leaflet No. 7, "What Communism Means," which was printed in large quantities and sent to every district organization. The Communist has been re-established and unless unforeseen interruptions take place, will be issued twice a month. On account of the difficulties of distributing under the new conditions it is desirable that the paper remain a semi-monthly for the present, rather than return to the weekly issue.

The membership of the party has rallied to their organization with a new enthusiasm and a spirit that means much for the organization. Some members, who were in the party for the social intercourse which many of the branches provided in the past, have of course, dropped by the wayside. But those who remain are men and women who are in earnest in their support of the cause of Communism and the party will in the future be really made up of members who will participate actively in the work.

With a membership made up of active Communists only, with organization machinery that is more effective in its operation than ever before, the party organization is ready for action and stronger than it was during the period of its legal existence.

THE PARTY UNITS AND THEIR DUTIES

The new unit of the party organization is the group, which will be usually made up of about ten members. The existing branches have been divided into these groups, largely along territorial lines, but this is only a temporary arrangement. The future groups are to build wherever they can function for organization and propaganda work. The shop groups are most necessary and fundamental. They must be organized as quickly as possible. Groups may also be formed within unions when there are sufficient Communist members, or on any other basis that brings together a certain number of party members.

By becoming a member of a party group the person joining pledges himself to actively participate in the work assigned to his group. Every group member is expected to circulate leaflets and to sell the party papers and pamphlets. It is his duty to assist in raising funds through securing contributions from those who, while not ready to assume the obligations of party membership are still sympathetic and ready to give financial assistance.

The groups can easily hold meetings in the home of the members for the discussion of party problems and to plan their work. They should organize themselves as study classes and hold regular meetings to develop a clearer understanding of the party principles.

Each group elects one of its members as group organizer. The group organizer will keep the members of his group in touch with the party organization as a whole. His duties are to secure leaflets and papers and pamphlets from the branch organizer and deliver these to the members of his group for distribution. He collects the dues of the members each month and transmits all other funds collected for party purposes. When elections take place or matters are submitted to referendum of the membership he acts as the medium through which this work is conducted. It is his duty to see that every member of his group takes an active part in the party work. He is responsible for the performance of his duties to the branch organizer.

The group organizers of a branch or section elect the branch or section organizer. Where there is only one branch of a certain nationality the branch organizer is a member of the sub-district committee. If there are more than one branch sub-district organizer for the Federation or English branches is appointed and the branch organizers receive their instructions and literature through him.

A sub-district of the national organization consists of all the branches in a certain territory, usually a large city and its suburbs or a group of smaller cities closely connected industrially. Such sub-districts are in charge of a sub-district organizer of the National Organization, who works in co-operation and under the supervision of a sub-district committee. The sub-district committee consists of one representative of the English branches and the sub-district organizer of the National Organization. All the work of the National Organization is conducted through its sub-district organizer, who receives all literature and collects all funds for his sub-district.

The sub-districts are combined into district organizations. Each district is in charge of an organizer of the National Organization, who receives his instructions from the National Organization and is charged with the supervision and direction of the work of his district. Each district has a District Committee organized in the same manner as the sub-district committee.

THE secretary reported that the following executive motion had been submitted to be sent to the members of the committee by mail, but had been withheld because of the nearness of the C.E.C. meeting.

Motion: That the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party shall at once be declared united by joint resolution of their executive committees, upon the following basis:

1. The name of the united party shall be the Communist Labor Party of America.

2. The principles and program of the united party shall be those set forth in the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party.

3. The form of reorganization of the party shall be that adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the C.P. (which we understand to correspond with the reorganization plan already adopted by the executive committee of the C.L.P.).

4. In all respects not modified by the foregoing organization plans and by the emergency situation the Constitution of the Communist Party shall be that of the united party.

5. The two executive committees shall be at once merged into a single committee, each to retain its method of keeping its number complete, this merger to include all the administrative affairs of the two parties.

6. A convention shall be called not later than May 15, and shall be held not later than July, 1920.

Comment: 1. Circumstances have prevented adequate consideration of this question by our committee. Recent decisions adverse to immediate unity have been made by four to six votes. Meanwhile there has been considerable expression of unity sentiment from our membership, several referendum proposals favorable to unity, which could not be submitted on account of the arrests, and also some independent unity action by our members.

2. Unity is in line with the policy of the Third International, as made emphatic by the September 1st declaration of the Central Executive Committee of the International. The International aims to unite all communist elements, regardless of previous divisions, even extending to the non-political syndicalists. The test is adherence to the Soviet system and the proletarian dictatorship.

3. There never was any division between the C.P. and the C.L.P. on fundamental communist principles. The fact of the two parties is accounted for primarily by the inadequate Left Wing organization work within the Socialist Party, and particularly by the withdrawal from the Left Wing Conference of the Federations and the Michigan representatives. The split occurred only on the question of the method of starting a Communist Party, and of Federation control of the Left Wing Council.

The differences between the two party programs are differences merely in the form of expression. The C.L.P. members have always avowed themselves in agreement with our principles, and the acceptance of the C.P. program by the C.L.P. committee would be in conformity with all the declarations of their membership. It could not be honestly contended that the C.L.P. committee could not act for its members on this point.

5. Unity with the C.L.P. would aid in bringing the Communist movement into contact with the American workers. For instance, the C.P. has hardly any English-

speaking membership and no prospects of doing any organization work west of the Mississippi.

6. Unity at this time by action of the committees, instead of waiting for a convention, is warranted by the new problems of organization created by the government's attack upon both parties.

7. Immediate unity is important also because of the miserable provocateur attempts of the Socialist Party to take advantage of the hard situation of the Communists.

8. Failure to achieve quick and effective organization means future of C.P. as playing of a small group of hair-splitting doctrinaires and feverish talk-conspirators. It means a duplication of the S.L.P. history. Unity with the C.L.P. would constitute a measurable advance in actual Communist organization in the United States; it would be an assurance that the C.P. really means to build a functioning organization.

9. Unity of these two parties would be a splendid fighting response to the smashing government persecutions. Unity six months from now will be a dead issue unless there is effective offset to the demoralization accompanying the raids and arrests.

10. Unity will add prestige to the Communist Party in the eyes of the European parties belonging to the Third International. The European Communists have been prevented from putting proper trust in the Communist Party because of the existence of two parties, accepting affiliation and the principles and tactics of the Third International.

The following letter from the National Executive Committee of the C.L.P., in reply to our last proposal for a convention, was also submitted:

March 9.

Central Executive Committee—Communist Party of America.

Comrades:

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party learns with regret that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has again refused the opportunity to unite all Communist forces in the United States under one banner.

No other interpretation can be placed upon the proposal by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to hold a convention, in view of their insistence that "as a basis for the convention tentative acceptance of the Communist Party constitution setting forth the fundamental relationship of the Language Federations within the party is essential."

The form of language federations has been one of the essential points of difference between the two parties. The fact that a small clique through their control of the autonomous federation groups controlled the Communist Party Convention in Chicago prevented unity of all the Communist elements there. But now that the governmental persecution has forced both parties to ignore the constitutions that they adopted last fall, now that the Communist Party constitution regarding federations, it is senseless and silly to bring acceptance of these principles as an essential preliminary to unity of Communist forces. The assumption is justified that they are trotted out rather as an obstacle to unity, so as to perpetuate the small clique control of the Communist Party by the present majority of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee.

(Continued on page 8)

In another few weeks this machinery will be working smoothly everywhere. Three or four districts are already thoroughly reorganized. Then the work of propaganda and the attack upon capitalism will go ahead full speed and the tools of capitalism will learn that rather than having destroyed the Communist Party they have merely made a stronger and a more dangerous enemy of the existing order.

NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING UNITY WITH THE C. L. P.

(Continued from page 7)

The communist Party Committee maintains that co-operation in the work of defense, organization and propaganda is "impracticable" and "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Communist Party." But we know that the great mass of the Communist Party's membership desire immediate co-operation of all Communist forces in these endeavors to meet the forces of reaction. We know that in this attempt to postpone even the consideration of unity to a distant convention, the holding of which is very problematical, the majority of the Communist Party Central Executive Committee (a bare majority of one) does not represent the will of the Communist Party membership, and we appeal to this membership to enforce their will.

We ask the membership not to be lulled into inactivity with the promise of a unity convention six months hence. Our acceptance of the convention proposal was conditional upon an immediate uniting of all Communist forces to fight the common foe. Those that want unity can achieve it AT ONCE, much easier than six months from now. RIGHT NOW is the time to unite into one mighty army all comrades that will hold aloft the banner of the Third International. The persecutions have disrupted the old organization forms. The membership is now in a state of flux. The organization forms are being molded and built, adapted to the new conditions. While this process is going on ALL that are worth while can be united into ONE organization, will NATURALLY unite into one organization.

But if we wait six months, if we first go through a long period of steam roller building and wire pulling to control convention delegates (as some of the Communist Party's C.E.C. majority have already started to do against the members of their own party), if we now once more build two Communist organizations until they become set and rigid, and then pit them against each other in a convention, a unity of Communist forces will be almost impossible to attain. If the golden opportunity to unite now is allowed to pass, if the schism in the Communist ranks is perpetuated as the present majority of the C.E.C. of the Communist Party seems to desire, then those responsible for it will convict themselves of actual treason to the Communist International.

We stand ready at any time to discuss with the C.E.C. of the Communist Party the problem of immediate merging of the Communist hosts, to bring into one great fighting organization all those who are for the Soviets and the Proletarian Dictatorship, as recommended by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. We hope sincerely that this consummation may yet be achieved.

National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.

After a discussion of several hours the motion was put to a vote with the following result:

Voting Yes: Damon, Isaacs, Langley, Norman—4.

Voting No: Andrew, Bernstein, Brown, Bunte, Raphael, Ries, Sascha, Black—9.

The motion was, therefore, lost.

The Central Executive Committee thereupon formulated the following proposal and reply to the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party, which was adopted unanimously in its final form: New York, March 19, 1920.

National Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party.

Comrades:

Your reply to our proposal to hold a joint convention for the purpose of achieving unity of the Communist elements of this country has been received, and has had the careful consideration of our committee.

We will not concern ourselves with the various charges and insinuations in your statement. These are evidently not intended to be taken seriously, but are included mere-

ly for the purpose of propaganda, since they do not affect the issues at stake. Our committee has, however, again considered your proposal for immediate unity between your committee and ours, and has rejected this proposal by the decisive vote of nine to four. The reason for this rejection is that our committee does not believe that unity attained through such committee action would attain the permanent Communist unity which we earnestly desire.

As evidence of its desire to achieve such permanent Communist unity, our committee has adopted the following statement, which it submits for your consideration and acceptance:

1. We accept the basis of Communist unity proposed by the Third International, inasmuch as it relates to the rank and file, but we maintain that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party must be in agreement also on questions of tactics and organization, and since such would not be the case if we merged the Central Executive Committees of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, we reject such a merger.

2. We confirm our desire to have unity of both parties achieved through a joint convention.

3. We are ready to set the date for the joint convention at the earliest possible date, and not later than June 15.

4. The Constitutional relations of the Federations to the party must enter as a part of the call for the joint convention, subject of course to changes by the convention.

5. In the meantime we favor co-operation between the two parties whenever desirable and practicable through the Central, District and local committees of both parties, subject to the control and approval of the respective Central Executive Committees.

We have elected a joint convention committee of three members with instructions to meet with a similar committee of your organization and to arrange a convention on the following basis:

1. The call for the convention must include our Manifesto, Program and Constitutional relations of the Federations to the Party.

2. Apportionment of delegates on the basis of dues stamps sold by each organization for the months of October, November and December, the total number of delegates from both organizations not to exceed 35; books of both organizations to be open to the opposite committee members.

3. The election of delegates to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly, and to be as nearly as possible alike for both organizations.

4. The quorum to call the convention to order to consist of two-thirds of the delegates elected by each organization.

For ourselves we have adopted the following plan for the election of delegates:

1. We will apportion delegates to our districts on the basis of dues stamps purchased during October, November and December.

2. A convention of each district shall be called in which subdistricts shall be represented by one delegate for each 200 members, on the basis of dues stamps purchased for October, November and December. This convention to elect our delegates and alternates.

3. Nomination for delegates to the district conventions shall be secured from the members by the group organizers. Nominees must be members in the districts in which they are nominated. The names of all nominees shall be presented to the members for vote by the group organizers. The district convention may elect any party members irrespective of the districts.

If your committee really desires unity between the Communists of the United States and is not merely using the plea for unity as a convenient method of propaganda against the Communist Party of America, we trust you will take immediate favorable action on this proposal, and elect your convention committee.

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of America.

WHY THESE STRIKES

(Continued from page 6)

shibboleths. The war has destroyed many relationships formerly held to be immutable and eternal. It has cracked inertia and conservatism. Everywhere the workers are beginning to think of a new order of things. But let us not be deluded. It is true wage-slavery has been rocked to its foundations by the cataclysmic war. It is true that capitalism is toppling and that it is on the brink of a precipice. But the damnable system will not fall of its own sheer weight. It has to be overthrown. And this is the historic mission of the proletariat. The new society will not fall into our lap. There is a long and bitter struggle ahead of us..

The present social ferment in America beckons the Communists to action. Clarity of purpose must supplant the vagueness which permeates the American workers' struggle to-day. Order and discipline must be added to the everyday battle of our proletariat. The field before us is immeasurable. The savage onslaught on our organization by the United States Department of Injustice is the most eloquent proof of the workers' need for Communal education and direction. Let us not be dismayed by temporary setbacks. Every cloud has its silver lining. A better day is dawning. "We have nothing to lose but our chains." And we have a world to gain. On with the Communist task!

Lovestone's Testimony

Jay Lovestone, I. E. Ferguson and Rose Pastor Stokes were subpoenaed as witnesses for the prosecution in the Winitsky trial. Only Jay Lovestone was called to the witness stand. Previous to his being called the prosecution had through its own stenographer read into the record a complete statement of the Chicago Convention of the party. Lovestone conferred with responsible comrades and it was agreed (Rose Pastor Stokes alone not concurring) that since he could not add anything material to the evidence he should, if compelled to, go on the witness stand rather than to refuse to testify and go to prison for contempt.

Upon being called to the stand Lovestone refused to testify on the ground that he would incriminate himself. Under an amendment to the New York law passed a week or ten days before the trial, a witness who refuses to testify on the ground of incrimination, can be compelled to testify if he is first granted immunity. In order to compel Lovestone to testify the prosecution stated that immunity would be granted him under this law. He thereupon signified his willingness to answer questions. The report that he first had a conference with the prosecution is false. He was in the custody of the prosecutors during the lunch hour which is always the case when testimony continues over a recess.

Lenin, Lamont and Loot

A recent despatch from Peking to the London Times says the Chinese government has received a message from the Moscow Soviet through Commissary Jansen at Irkutsk announcing that a Red Army is marching east to succor the workmen and peasants in Siberia from the "Brigands Kolchak, Semenov, Horvath and their Japanese allies and establish everlasting peace."

The communication expresses horror at the crimes committed against China and undertakes to annul all treaties and renounce all privileges improperly acquired from China.

The message indicates that the services of the Red Army will be available to deliver China from foreign imperialistic and capitalistic ambitions.

The correspondent says there is no doubt that everything offered will be accepted by China, the Bolshevik having succeeded in establishing themselves in the good graces of the Chinese.

Quite naturally! The Bolsheviks are not interested in looting China and the Chinese people know it. They desire only to be left alone. Should those imperialistic powers that lust after China capture and devour her, imperialism is an immediate menace to China and an only less immediate menace to Russia. Lamont, of the firm of Morgan & Co., is reported in Japan at the present time plotting Chinese absorption. It seems to be a race between Lamont

and Lenin for China's favors. All things seem to favor Lenin. Much depends upon the outcome. America, perhaps, will be most profoundly affected. If Lamont loses—if American finance-imperialism fails to open up China for its own economic relief, it will have to seek a market elsewhere—but where? Maybe Lenin could tell them if they have ears to hear. But no! If the wooing Lamont loses his beloved China to Lenin, he will listen, to nobody (least of all his successful rival!) but just pine and die. Or will he? May we not still have the spectacle of finance-imperialism, with a false hear and a forced smile, begging the Soviet Government for her economic favors?

What will it not do for LOOT!

PASS THIS ON TO A WORKER—A TRUSTED ONE.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS FOR PARTY OR DEFENSE GO THROUGH THE ESTABLISHED CHANNELS.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

BUILD THE UNIT IN THE SHOP.